

Message Text

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SUBJECT: CONVERSATION WITH MAKARIOS

1. SUMMARY. IN JANUARY 22 MEETING WITH MAKARIOS I PRO-
TESTED GOC'S LACK OF PROTECTION WHICH RESULTED IN MAJOR
DAMAGE TO EMBASSY, RESERVING USG RIGHT TO COMPENSATION.
I BRIEFED MAKARIOS ON WASHINGTON DELIBERATIONS OF CYPRUS
PROBLEM. ARCHBISHOP INFORMED US OF HIS INTENTION (A) MAKE
A STATEMENT LATE IN MONTH CONDEMNING LACK OF PROGRESS IN
TALKS DUE TO TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE AND (B) SEIZE THE
NEGOTIATING INITIATING BY PRESENTING A GOC POSITION PAPER
IN EFFORT FLUSH OUT ULTIMATE TURKISH OBJECTIVES. HIS
PREFERENCE IS THAT NEGOTIATION GO DIRECTLY TO GEOGRAPHIC
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DEMARCATON AND REFUGEE RETURN WHICH HE REGARDS AS THE
KEYS TO ALL OTHER PROBLEMS. WE ARGUED AGAINST (A) BECAUSE OF
UNHELPFUL EFFECT ON ADMINISTRATION'S EFFORTS WITH CONGRESS RE
TURKISH AID AND CONSEQUENTLY ON OUR ABILITY CONTINUE HE HELPFUL

ON A SOLUTION. MAKARIOS PROVIDED DETAILS OF GOC POSITION ON TURKISH CANTONS IN NORTH. MAKARIOS SENT GREETINGS TO SECRETARY. END SUMMARY.

2. EUR/SE DIRECTOR EAGLETON AND I CALLED UPON MAKARIOS JANUARY 22.

3. I THANKED MAKARIOS FOR ACTING UPON HIS ASSURANCE TO SECRETARY THAT HE WOULD PERSONALLY INVOLVE HIMSELF TO PREVENT FURTHER DAMAGE TO AMERICAN PROPERTY, NOTING THAT HIS ROLE DURING JAN 20 DEMONSTRATION AGAINST USIS CENTER SEEMED TO HAVE BEEN THE DECISIVE FACTOR IN TURNING BACK CROWDS DETERMINED UPON DESTUCTION OF BUILDING. I WAS POINTEDLY CRITICAL OF GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE ACT WITH SIMILAR DECISIVENESS DURING JANUARY 18 ATTACK UPON EMBASSY WHICH HAD BEEN A VERY CLOSE CALL, ESPECIALLY SINCE THERE HAD BEEN AMPLE ADVANCE WARNING OF THE DANGER. GOC SHOULD BE UNDER NO ILLUSION AS TO SHARPNESS OF REACTION OF PART OF MY GOVERNMENT. WE WOULD BE SEEKING COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES INCURRED DURING THESE DEMONSTRATIONS AS WELL AS THOSE OF AUGUST. (SOME INTIMATIONS I HAD EARLIER MADE THROUGH FRIENDS IN TOUCH WITH MAKARIOS, PRESIDENT WAS WELL AWARE THAT I PERSONALLY FELT THE EVIDENCE POINTED TO HIS HAVING CONDONED JANUARY 18 DEMONSTRATIONS.)

4. INCONVINCINGLY, MAKARIOS REPLIED THAT INFORMATION TELEPHONED TO HIM MORNING JANUARY 18 DEALT WITH DEMONSTRATIONS SCHEDULED FOR JAN 20, IN REGARD TO WHICH HE HAD ISSUED FIRM INSTRUCTIONS. HE HAD NOT BEEN TOLD THERE WAS DANGER OF ANYTHING SERIOUS HAPPENING JANUARY 18. I SAID WE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND THIS CONFUSION AS FOREIGN AND INTERIOR MINISTERS HAD BEEN KEPT FULLY INFORMED BY CHARGE BROWN OF RIOTERS' EVIDENT INTENTIONS BASED ON EMBASSY'S EFFECTIVE EARLY WARNING SYSTEM. IN THE MAIN, POLICE HAD NOT LIFTED A FINGER TO PROTECT EMBASSY AND SOME HAD STOOD BY LAUGHING.

5. I STRESSED THAT GOC COULD NOT EXPECT US CONTINUE PLAY HELPFUL ROLE LOOKING TOWARD SOLUTION OF CYPRUS PROBLEM IF IT FAILED LIVE UP TO ITS RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE PROTECTION OF LIVES AND PROPERTY OF OUR REPRESENTATIVES.

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6. NOTING THE STRONG EFFORTS WE HAD MADE TO GET CLERIDES AND DENKTASH STARTED ON A NEGOTIATION OF SUBSTANCE WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS, I BRIEFED MAKARIOS ON OUR WASHINGTON DELIBERATIONS IN CONNECTION WITH CYPRUS PROBLEM. IT WAS OUR HOPE THAT QUICK PROGRESS COULD BE ACHIEVED ON MATTERS SUCH AS NICOSIA AIRPORT, FAMAGUSTA PORT USE FOR BOTH COMMUNITIES, SOME MILITARY WITHDRAWAL AS MOVEMENT TOWARD COMPLIANCE WITH UN RESOLUTIONS AND US LAW, AND HOPEFULLY SOME RETURN OF REFUGEES. THESE WERE IMPORTANT ON THEIR MERITS BUT ALSO NECESSARY TO HELP ADMINISTRATION DEAL WITH FEB 5 CUTOFF OF AID TO TURKEY. GREEKS MIGHT DERIVE MORAL SATISFACTION FROM SUSPENSION OF TURKISH AID BUT IN PRACTICAL TERMS SUCH SUSPENSION WOULD BE LIKELY TO RULE OUT AN EQUITABLE SOLUTION, AS TURKEY WAS A PROUD COUNTRY WHICH

WOULD NOT SHOW FLEXIBILITY UNDER THIS KIND OF THREAT. IF FEBRUARY 5 OBSTACLE COULD BE OVERCOME AND NEGOTIATOR CAME TO GRIPS WITH KEY ISSUES SUCH AS FUTURE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WE COULD ASSESS IN FEBRUARY THE EVEN MORE ACTIVE ROLE USG MIGHT PLAY TO HELP BRIDGE DIFFERENCES. I ASKED MAKARIOS HOW HE SAW THE SITUATION EVOLVING.

7. HE REPLIED THAT CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS HAD GOTTEN NOWHERE AND THEIR PROSPECTS WERE BLEAK. EVEN ON SUCH A RELATIVELY SIMPLE MATTER AS REOPENING NICOSIA AIRPORT, ON WHICH HE HAD AGREED TO LANGUAGE WHICH HE UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED BY US AND THEN PASSED TO UNSYG SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WECKMANN, TURKS HAD COME UP WITH NEW PROPOSALS OF THEIR OWN WHICH WERE UTTERLY UNACCEPTABLE. ARCHBISHOP SAID HE HAD NOT THE SLIGHTEST INTEREST IN GREEK CYPRIOT USAGE OF FAMAGUSTA PORT ON THE TERMS STIPULATED PUBLICLY BY ESENBEL. A LIMITED REDUCTION IN TURKISH TROOPS WOULD BE OF NO HELP TO GREEK CYPRIOTS. REFUGEE RETURN WAS, OF COURSE, A MATTER OF GREAT IMPORTANCE.

8. MAKARIOS SAID THAT GIVEN THE LACK OF PROGRESS HE HAD DESCRIBED, HE HAD TWO COMPLEMENTARY COURSES OF ACTION IN MIND. FIRST, HE INTENDED TO MAKE A STATEMENT, PERHAPS THROUGH A PRESS CONFERENCE, TOWARD THE END OF JANUARY ANNOUNCING THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS HAD ACHIEVED NOTHING. IF HE DID NOT MAKE SUCH A STATEMENT, HE WOULD BE MISLEADING HIS OWN PEOPLE. ADDITIONALLY, WORLD OPINION WOULD TEND TO FORGET ABOUT CYPRUS AND THE CONTINUED ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF 40 PERCENT OF THE
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ISLAND BY THE TURKISH INVADERS. AN ACTIVE INTERNATIONAL INTEREST HAD TO BE KEPT ALIVE IF THERE WERE TO BE ANY CHANCE OF A SOLUTION EXCEPT IN TERMS OF ACCEPTANCE OF TURKISH FAITS ACCOMPLIS WHICH WERE PARTITIONING THE ISLAND. SECONDLY, AND ALTHOUGH SOME HAD ADVISED AGAINST THIS (THE REFERENCE WAS CLEARLY TO CLERIDES), HE FELT MATTERS SHOULD BE BROUGHT TO A HEAD IN THE NEGOTIATION BY PRESENTATION OF A GOC POSITION PAPER SPECIFICALLY ASKING FOR TURKEY'S POSITIONS ON THE PERCENTAGE OF TERRITORY IT INTENDED TO HOLD UNDER TURKISH CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION IN A SOLUTION, THE KIND OF GEOGRAPHIC ARRANGEMENT, WHETHER IT COULD ACCEPT THE FOUR OR FIVE CANTONAL ARRANGEMENT IN THE NORTH FOR WHICH CLERIDES HAD BEEN INSTRUCTED TO NEGOTIATE; WHETHER IT WAS WILLING TO PERMIT RETURN OF GREEK CYPRIOT REFUGEES TO AREAS ULTIMATELY REMAINING UNDER TURKISH ADMINISTRATION ON A MAJORITY/MINORITY RATIO OF 60/40 OR PERHAPS 70/30; AND POWERS IT ENVISAGED FOR A FUTURE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. HE REPEATED WHAT HE HAS TWICE BEFORE MENTIONED TO ME ABOUT HIS WILLINGNESS TO FINANCE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW HOUSING FOR TURKS IN THE AREAS OF THEIR ADMINISTRATION ONCE GREEKS HAD REPOSSESSED THEIR OWN HOMES. THERE WERE THOSE, MAKARIOS REPEATED, WHO HAD ARGUED AGAINST SUCH A POSITION PAPER ON THE GROUND THAT IT WOULD PRECIPITATE

IMMEDIATE DEADLOCK. HE DISAGREED. IF, AS SEEMED LIKELY, DEADLOCK WOULD BE THE ULTIMATE RESULT IN NEGOTIATION, IT SHOULD COME NOW RATHER THAN LATER SO THAT GOC COULD CONSIDER AN ALTERNATIVE COURSE OF ACTION. (MAKARIOS OBVIOUSLY MEANT A RETURN TO HIS FAVORITE NOTION OF AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE INVOLVING FIVE PERMANENT SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERS AND ONE OR TWO PRINCIPAL NON-ALIGNED.) IN ANY CASE, ARCHBISHOP REMARKED, HE DID NOT LIKE THE CONCEPT OF CONSIDERING THE LITTLE ISSUES FIRST. THE KEY WAS TO FIND OUT AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE WHAT TURKEY WOULD ACCEPT IN TERMS OF TERRITORIAL PERCENTAGE AND THE GEOGRAPHIC DELINEATION OF THE TURKISH CANTONS.

9. THERE FOLLOWED CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE THREE OF US ON EFDMD A STATEMENT LATE THIS MONTH BY ARCHBISHOP ASSERTING THAT NO PROGRESS HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN CLERIDES-DENKTASH NEGOTIATION. WE POINTED OUT ADVERSE EFFECTS (OF WHICH MAKARIOS WAS OBVIOUSLY AND MALICIOUSLY AWARE) ON EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER TO DEAL WITH FEBRUARY 5 DEADLINE AND, THEREFORE, ON OUR SECRET

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CAPABILITY TO BE HELPFUL TOWARDS A CYPRUS SOLUTION. EAGLETON AND I SUGGESTED THAT A STATEMENT, IF ONE HAD TO BE MADE, BE CAST IN POSITIVE TERMS PERHAPS WITH GENERAL REFERENCE TO ARCHBISHOP'S INTENTION SUBMIT GOC PROPOSALS IN THE TALKS IN AN EFFORT TO MOVE THEM FORWARD. MAKARIOS WAS NOT RESPONSIVE TO THIS THOUGHT.

10. I TOLD MAKARIOS THAT INTEREST HAD BEEN EXPRESSED IN WASHINGTON IN WHAT GOC VIEWS WERE WITH REGARD TO DELINEATION OF FOUR TURKISH CANTONS IN THE NORTH, WHILE STRESSING THAT THIS INTEREST DID NOT IMPLY A US POSITION ON THE NATURE OF A GEOGRAPHIC SETTLEMENT, WHETHER MULTI-CANTONAL, BIZONAL, OR MULTI-REGIONAL. MAKARIOS PRODUCED A MAP WHICH TURNED OUT TO ENVISAGE FIVE, NOT FOUR, TURKISH CANTONS, AS FOLLOWS.

(1) WHAT MAKARIOS DESCRIBED AS "THE SUBSTANTIAL TURKISH CANTON" IN FORM OF AN INVERTED TRIANGLE RUNNING FROM KYRENIA TO NORTH COAST TERMINATING JUST EAST OF KARAVAS ON THE WEST AND EAST OF AYIOS EPIKTITOS ON THE EAST. (2) A SMALL CANTON IN THE FAR WEST INCORPORATING THE MAIN TURKISH TOWNS OF LIMNITIS AND LEFKA. (3) BEY KEUY-KORNOKIPOS-CHATOS-KNODHARA-PISLATOS-MELOUNDA-PLATANIA. (4) GALATIA AND TURKISH VILLAGES IMMEDIATE TO WEST OF IT. (5) AYIOS SYMEON-KOROVIA-GALINOPORNE. COMMENT; ETHNIC RATIONALE BEHIND THESE CANTONS WILL BE APPARENT TO ADDRESSEES FROM POPULATION MAP OF CYPRUS WHICH IS IN HANDS OF DEPARTMENT AND HAS BEEN DISTRIBUTED BY MANY CYPRIOT EMBASSIES BHSEWHERE TO DEMONSTRATE CONSEQUENCES OF TURKISH INVASION. END COMMENT.

11. MAKARIOS SAID THAT AS HE WELCOMED US SUPPORT FOR A SOLUTION HE WOULD SHORTLY BE PROVIDING US WITH ENGLISH

TRANSLATION OF CLERIDES' NEGOTIATING MANDATE.

12. CONCLUDING, MAKARIOS ASKED THAT WE CONVEY HIS GREETINGS
TO SECRETARY KISSINGER AND REITERATED HIS HOPE THAT US COULD
BE HELPFUL IN FINDING A SOLUTION.
CRAWFORD UNQTE INGERSOLL

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